

The Gods Speak Again 193

the Indian Office had appeared to persuade the Indians, by the offer of farming tools, to send their children to the Fort Mohave Indian School. At that time there was no school in the canyon. The Chemehuevi had been song leader at the dance, and made an eloquent appeal to the people to reject the agent's offer. He had cried:

Don't send your children to the school of the white man. If you do, they will grow up with the heart of the white man, and the place of the Havasupai will know them no more. Your tribe will be broken up, and then the white man will come and take possession of your canyon home where the stream ever flows and sings to the waving willows by its side. He will rob you of your corn fields and peach orchards. No longer will the place where the bodies of your ancestors were burned be sacred to you; your hunting grounds are now all occupied by him; the deer and the antelope have nearly disappeared before his rifle, and he is hungry to possess the few things you still have left. This offer is a secret plot against you. He thinks if he cannot drive you out he will seduce you out, and this school is the offer he makes to you, so that he can get your children into his hands. There he will teach them to make fun of you; to despise your method of living; your houses, your food, your dress, your customs, your dances will all be ridiculed by him, and so you will lose the favor of Those Above, and you yourselves will soon die and your name and tribe be forgotten.

And now the Havasupai believed that his prophecy was being fulfilled. The white men had come as predicted and taken over their canyon where the stream ever flowed. Soon they would be a homeless people.

Manakadja was deeply troubled. His tribesmen had elected him to his high office because he preached the doctrine that the white man and the Indian cannot live on the same ground; each must have his own, and there can be no encroaching, one on the other. The chief had decreed that no Havasupai blood should mingle with that of the white people, and never in the history of the tribe had there been such a marriage or mingling of blood.

But in the case of these intruders Manakadja was as helpless as any of us; so again the security of the People of the Blue Water rested in the laps of their gods.

584 for an indefinite period. However, the factors of regularity and endurance do not necessarily portend interest in marriage.

[836] Young people very early acquire the dominant group attitude of little or no moral compunction regarding covert sex expression, so that a girl may be relatively uninhibited in seeking gratification of sexual drives unless desire to avoid pregnancy prompts some restraint. (The Havasupai point of view on the morality of sexual indulgence was indirectly revealed by one of the more Christianized adults who remarked of an older, unmarried Havasupai girl who reputedly refrains from sexual relations and is described as unique in this respect, "She says she's a Christian, so maybe she doesn't like sex.")

842 No information was obtained regarding the use of contraceptive methods or devices by unmarried couples, but the proportion of illegitimate births, 584 coupled with the beliefs and practices of married women presented elsewhere, suggest that contraception is not practiced generally, if indeed it is at all before marriage.

836 If a girl conceives during a casual affair, the alliance may become 584 permanent, but only if the couple want to marry or at least have no objection to it. A boy is not forced into such a union. An accused youth is able to refute a girl's claim merely by charging that her child is "everybody's baby." That girls seldom stand firm in such accusations may be further evidence of the casual and promiscuous character of early sexual activities.

584 In conclusion, primary courtship is transitory in character, centering strongly upon sexual experimentation with erotic stimuli, in essence motivated by a physiological drive for self-gratification rather than by any illusion of enduring affection for a particular sexual partner.

Secondary Courtship

Secondary courtship, by definition, begins when a couple recognizes a mutually exclusive attraction which may possibly lead to marriage. Age is not necessarily a factor, since many individuals engage in serious courtship rather early in adolescence, sometimes as early as puberty. As might be expected, fewer boys than girls court seriously at a very early age.

[83] Since courtship arises from and follows a pattern of sexual license which is covertly normative but overtly disapproved, courtship itself is a complex of attitudes and behavior patterns more or less clandestinely expressed. Courting couples publicly present to one another impassive countenances and aloof demeanor pretending to ignore each other. Havasupai etiquette, lacking in conventional salutatory and farewell forms, prescribes no obligatory verbal exchange when individuals join or leave a group, participate in a social situation such as card playing, meet unexpectedly while going about

RELIGION

The General Character of Havasupai Religion

[Spier (1928, 275, 289) has well, but briefly, discussed the position of supernatural beliefs in Havasupai culture. Religion was poorly developed; ceremonialism was meager except perhaps when it involved shamanistic practices. Some incipient borrowing was made from the Hopi in the use of prayers, masked dancers and prayer sticks; from the Southern Paiute in the acceptance of the 1890 ghost dance; and from the Mohave funeral rites. The concern with shamans and curing through spirits was typically Yuman, as were cremation, mourning ceremonies and fear of ghosts. The round dance undoubtedly was derived from the Great Basin. (See also Spier, 1929).]

Cosmology

The Havasupai believed that the world was flat and that the sky was a dome that came to meet the earth all around the edges. The middle of the world was at the San Francisco Peaks [the highest peaks in Arizona, north of Flagstaff, and visible from all parts of Havasupai territory except, of course, in the deep tributary gorges of Grand Canyon. This visibility accounts for the belief that the San Francisco Peaks are central in Havasupai world concepts even though, geographically, they are near the south-eastern corner of their former range]. The earth, high in the middle and sloping away to the edges, was small, but the sky was large and very high.

Underground consisted of four levels, as did the sky. Shamans are reported to have seen these latter levels, which were inhabited by people with wings, sky people, mi ā' bā' dji.

The Havasupai recognized six directions, including the zenith and nadir (Spier, 1928, 169). There existed a vague notion of an ocean to the west [probably learned from the Mohave who had traded with coastal people]

Of the neighboring tribes the Havasupai knew the Walapai, Hopi, Apache, Southern Paiute and Navajo. [An interesting denial of knowledge of the Yavapai perhaps results from the Havasupai consideration that, of all creatures, the Yavapai were farthest from a human category. Further, unless one makes specific separate inquiry, Havasupais often tend to equate the Yavapai and Apache. Tales of Apache raids in reality refer to Yavapai encounters.] They knew of Zuni and Acoma, but did not visit Zuni or farther east. Knowledge of these pueblos came to them through the Hopi.